1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamaighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers,**[1] or *imthiyazen* (singular *amthiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers,** *iberrahen* (singular *aberrah*) and *ishepairen* (singular *ashepair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 128 *seq.*

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

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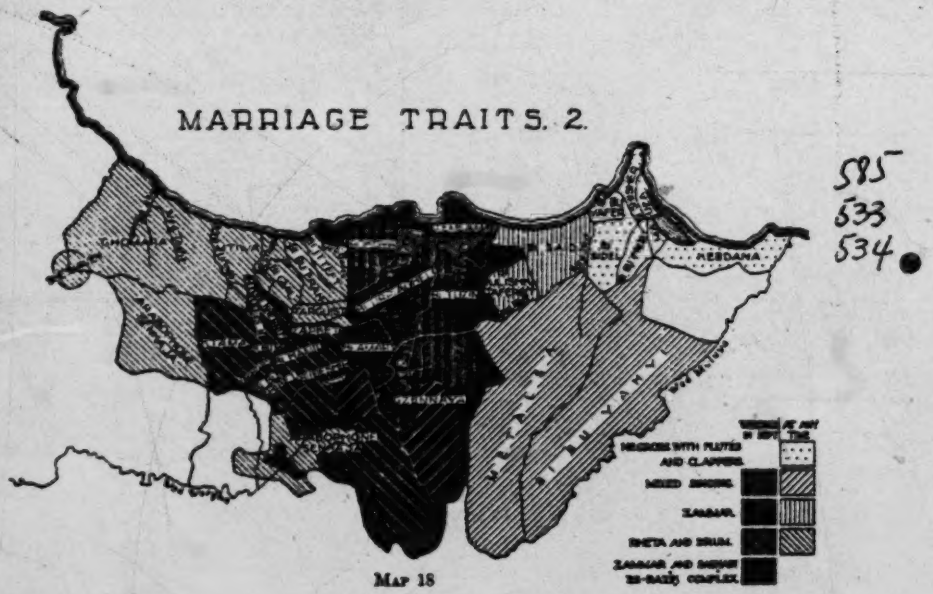
The *iuriren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sabbain er-rarif* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlis, in Beni Amart, Iberrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iberrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zummar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samins that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gsennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Braber, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *zigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[013] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.